

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 05624 01 OF 02 102059Z

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 DODE-00 NSC-07 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

INR-10 PM-03 SAJ-01 NEA-06 IO-03 SAB-01 L-02 PRS-01

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P R 101735Z OCT 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8129

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 4482

USMISSION UN NEW YORK PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USDOCOSOUTH PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5624

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, NATO

SUBJECT: OCTOBER 9 NAC SESSION: DISCUSSION ON MIDDLE EAST

REF: STATE 220663 (NOTAL)

DEPT PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY

SUMMARY: ON OCTOBER 9, NAC EXCHANGED VIEWS ON RECENT MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS IN RESPONSE TO SYG LUNS' INITIATIVE DESPITE A CERTAIN LACK OF ENTHUSIASM BY SOME ALLIES WHO THOUGHT TIMING NOT RIGHT, MCAULIFFE (US) PRESENTED OUTLINES OF POSITION (REFTEL) EMPHASIZING SECRETARY'S FEELING THAT IT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM IN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS, LEST WE RISK LOOSING PROGRESS ALREADY MADE. CANADA REPORTED VIEWS GROMYKO EXPRESSED TO MACEACHEN IN NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 25 AND OUTLINED CANADIAN POSITION ON PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. FRANCE CONTRIBUTED NOTHING SUBSTANTIVE BUT SOUGHT TO ENSURE THAT DISCUSSION LIMITED IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARA SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 05624 01 OF 02 102059Z

ELEVEN OF OTTAWA DECLARATION. ITALY DEPLORED UN APPEARANCE OF PLO, SAYING IT WILL ONLY HARDEN ISREALI POSITION AND MAKE HUSAYN'S ROLE MORE DIFFICULT. UK FELT NAC SHOULD EXAMINE SOVIET MIDDLE EAST POSITION MORE CLOSELY. ALLIES WERE GENERALLY

HOPEFUL REGARDING OUTCOME OF
SECRETARY'S TRIP AND UNANIMOUSLY REQUESTED US BRIEFING ON
RESULTS. END SUMMARY.

1. ON OCTOBER 9 NAC HELD EXCHANGE OF ALLIED VIEWS AS SYG
WANTED. LUNS SAID TOPIC VERY IMPORTANT AND DESERVED DISCUSSION
AT THIS TIME. HE HOPED NAV WOULD CONSIDER 1) PRESENT SITUATION,
INCLUDING DEVELOPMENTS AND RISKS OF RENEWED CONFLICT, 2) MEANS
AT ALLIANCE DISPOSAL TO PREVENT OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES, AND
3) IN EVENT OF HOSTILITIES, STEPS ALLIES MIGHT TAKE TO AVOID
MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH CLOUDED ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS ONE YEAR
ARO.

2. CANADIAN PERMREP (MENXIES) LED OFF WITH BRIEF DESCRIPTION
OF MEETING BETWEEN GROMYKO AND EXTAFF SECRETARY MACEACHEN IN
NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 25 DURING WHICH MIDDLE EAST WAS A TOPIC. HE
REPORTED GROMYKO SAW ISREALI WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL, NOT JUST SOME,
OCCUPIED TERRITORY AS KEY REQUIREMENT. GROMYKO CRITICIZED
US FOR BEING UNABLE TO PRESSURE ISRAEL ON THIS POINT. ACCORDING
TO MENZIES, GROMYKO ALSO DESCRIBED US POSITION AS LACKING
CLEAR AND DETAILED OVERALL SOLUTION. MENZIES SAID GROMYKO'S STATEMENT
LACKED NUANCE AND CONTAINED NOTHING UNEXPECTED.

3. MENZIES THEN OUTLINED FOUR-POINT CANADIAN POSITION ON
PALESTINIAN/PLO ISSUE: CANADA 1) FAVORS CONTINUATION OF
HUMANITARIAN AID THROUGH UNRWA; 2) BELIEVES PALESTINIANS HAVE
RIGHT TO REPATRIATION OR COMPENSATION; C) FEELS PALESTINIANS
HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY IN NEGOTIATIONS; AND 4) DOES NOT OPPOSE
PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL BODIES BUT HAS
RESERVATIONS ON PLO RECOGNITION. ON LEAST POINT, OTTAWA FEARS
THAT PRESENT FLOW OF EVENTS MAY PUSH CANADIAN POSITION FURTHER
THAN IT WOULD LIKE AND MAY AFFECT THE "FLEXIBILITY OF THOSE WHO
WISH TO REMAIN FLEXIBLE." HE CITED DRAFT EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION
BEFORE UNGA CALLING FOR PLO TO ADRESS UNGA PLENARY AS EXAMPLE
OF SUCH AN EVENT. IN SUBSEQUENT REMARKS, MENZIES EXPRESSED
CONCERN OVER PRECEDENT THAT PROPOSED TREATMENT OF PLO IN NEW YORK
WOULD SET REGARDING OTHER LIBERATION-TYPE MOVEMENTS.

SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 05624 01 OF 02 102059Z

4. FRENCH CHARGE (CARRAUD) SAID FRANCE WAS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE
IN AN "EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" ON MIDDLE EAST IN ACCORD WITH
LIMITS EXPRESSED PARA ELEVEN OF OTTAWA ATLANTIC DECLARATION,
CARRAUD HOWEVER CAUTIONED AGAINST INTERPRETING THIS EXCHANGE AS AN
ATTEMPT TO DEFINE COMMON ALLIANCE POLICY. HE SAID COUNCIL
MIGHT WISH TO CALL ON MIDDLE EAST EXPERTS NOW MEETING AT NATO
HEADQUARTERS. HE REQUESTED THAT ALLIES AVOID "STATEMENTS OF
CONFLICTING VIEWS," AND ASKED THAT ALL ASPECTS OF THIS DISCUSSION
REMAIN EXTREMELY CONFIDENTIAL.

5. MCAULIFFE PRESENTED OUTLINES OF US POSITION BASED ON
DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE (REFTEL), EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE OF MAIN-
TAINING MOMENTUM IN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS. MCAULIFFE POINTED

OUT THAT KEY AIM OF SECRETARY'S TRIP IS TO DEVELOP CONSENSUS LEADING TOWARD FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. AT MOMENT, HE SAID, WE ARE WORKING TO ACHIEVE UNDERSTANDING ON TIMING, MODALITIES AND RELATIONSHIP OF NEGOTIATIONS AHEAD. WE BELIEVE MOST IMMEDIATE POSSIBILITIES FOR NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN SINAI AND WEST BANK. US RECOGNIZES NEED TO ASSURE THAT PALESTINIAN INTERESTS ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT; HOWEVER, ISTAEL WON'T SIT DOWN NOW WITH PALESTINIANS AS SUCH. CHARGE SAID US BELIEVES HORDAN MUST BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON WEST BANK ISSUES WITH ISRAEL.

NOTE BY OCT: NOT PASSED.

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 05624 02 OF 02 102144Z

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 DODE-00 NSC-07 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

INR-10 PM-03 SAJ-01 NEA-06 IO-03 SAB-01 L-02 PRS-01

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 5624

LIMDIS

6. MCAULIFFE TOLD COUNCIL US CONSIDERS MILITARY BALANCE IN MIDDLE EAST TO BE ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED FROM WITH IT WAS BEFORE OCTOBER 1973 WAR. US IS SATISFIED THAT EGYPT-ISTAEL DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT HAS BEEN SCRUPULOUSLY IMPLEMENTED AND OBSERVED. ON ISRAEL-SYRIA FRONT, AGREEMENT IS BEING PROPERLY OBSERVED WITH SOME DISCREPANCIES WHICH HAVE LARGELY RESULTED FROM DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT OR MAPS OR FROM SITUATIONS NOT COVERED IN THE AGREEMENT. HE TOLD THE COUNCIL THAT UNLESS THERE IS SOME PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS IN THE COMING MONTHS, THE RISK OF ANOTHER ROUND OF FIGHTING WILL INCREASE.

7. AMBASSADOR CATALANO (ITALY) DESCRIBED MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AS AT TURNING POINT, STRESSING IMPORTANCE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S TRIP. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT DEBATE ON PALESTINIAN ISSUE IN UNGA MIGHT UPSET DELICATE SITUATION; IT MIGHT LEAD ISRAEL TO THINK

ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IS IMPERILED. CATALANO DEPLORED POSSIBILITY OF UN GRANTING OBSERVER STATUS TO PLO AS THIS HARDEN ISRAEL'S POSITION AND MAKE HUSAYM'S ROLE MORE DIFFICULT. CATALANO
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 05624 02 OF 02 102144Z

SAID HIS AUTHORITIES DO NOT REGARD REVIEWAL OF CONFLICT AS PROBABLE. HOWEVER, THERE COULD BE OUTBREAK OF WAR EARLY NEXT YEAR IF ARABS FEEL ENCOURAGED BY INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THEIR POSITION.

8. UK PERMREP (PECK) REMARKED THAT PALESTINIAN/PLO ISSUE WILL DELAY POSSIBLE JORDAN-ISREAL TALKS. ACCORDING TO PECK, HUSAYN, UNDER ARAB PRESSURE HAS OPTED AGAINST DIRECT TALKS WITH ISRAEL IN GAVOR OF ISREALI-PLO TALKS, KNOWING FULL WELL THAT ISREAL WILL REFUSE SUCH TALKS. ACCORDINGLY JORDAN WILL NOT MODIFY POSITION BEFORE ARAB SUMMIT OCTOBER 26. PECK ALSO POINTED TO RAPID PROGRESS IN CLEARING OF THE SUEZ CANAL BUT HE DOUBTED CANAL COULD BE OPERATED UNTIL THERE IS POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN SINAI. HE SUGGESTED THAT NAC EXAMINE SOVIET MID-EAST POSITION MORE CLOSELY AND HE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF US COULD BRIEF ALLIES NOT ONLY ON RESULTS OF SECRETARY'S MIDDLE EAST TRIP, BUT ALSO ON SUBSEQUENT US EXCHANGES WITH SOVIETS ABOUT MIDDLE EAST DURING MOSCOW VISIT. PECK DISAGREED WITH CURRAUD'S CAUTION ON DISSENTING VIEWS, SAYING THAT IF ALLIES AIR DIVERGENT OPINIONS NOW IN A PERIOD OF RELATIVE CALM, THERE WILL BE LESS DANGER TO ALLIED UNITY IN THE EVENT OF ANOTHER CRISIS.

9. BELGIAN PERMREP (DE STAERCKE), NOTED FRENCH VIEWS ON EXTENT OF CONSULTATION, CHARACTERISED PRESENT DISCUSSION AS EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION. HE SAID THERE IS NOT QUESTION OF ACTING AS ALLIANCE ON THIS DIFFICULT PROBLEM AREA. DE STAERCKE ASKED IF CARAUD COULD INFORM NAC OF POSITION OF THE EC-NINE. IN REPLY CARAUD SAID EC-NINE WOULD LIKE TO PLAY ROLE BUT HAD NOT YET FORMULATED AGREED POSITIONS ON MIDDLE EAST. DE STAERCKE SAID GROMYKO'S CRITICISM OF US POSITION AS LACKING AN OVERALL SOLUTION TO MIDDLE EAST DIFFICULTIES IS REAL COMPLIMENT TO SECRETARY KISSINGER, SINCE CONSISTENT US APPROACH HAS BEEN TO BUILD TOWARD A SOLUTION IN STAGES AND NOT ATTEMPT TO PRECONCEIVE AND IMPOSE PARTICULAR FINAL SOLUTION. NOTING THAT MILITARY SITUATION WAS DESCRIBED BY US AS BACK IN " BALANCE," DE STAERCKE QUESTIONED NEED FOR CONTINUED ARMS DELIVERIES TO AREA.

10. DE STAERCKE ALSO ASKED IF COUNCIL CAN HOPE THAT MEMBER OF SECRETARY'S ENTOURAGE CAN BRIEF NAC AFTER SECRETARY'S TRIP. SYG SAID HE PLANS TO SCHEDULE FURTHER NAC DISCUSSION ON THIS TOPIC FOLLOWING TRIP. MCAULIFFE PROMISED TO REPORT THESE REQUESTS FROM ALLIES. HE SAID HE KNEW THAT WASHINGTON HAD INTERESTS OF ITS
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 05624 02 OF 02 102144Z

ALLIES VERY MUCH IN MIND BUT THAT COMPLEX NEGOTIATIONS OF THIS SORT MADE IT DIFFICULT TO SCHEDULE BRIEFINGS OR FORECAST AVAIL-

ABILITY OF KEY MEMBERS OF SECRETARY'S STAFF. SPEAKING PERSONALLY
AND WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, MCAULIFFE ADDED THAT -- DEPENDING ON PROGRESS

MADE AND SITUATION OBTAINING AT CONCLUSION OF SECRETARY'S TRIP -- THERE

MIGHT BE SUFFICIENT SUBSTANCE TO WARRANT A REINFORCED NAC.

11. TURKISH PERMREP (ERALP), NOTING THAT OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN
THIS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HAD MENTIONED MANY PROBLEMS WITHOUT
OFFERING SOLUTIONS, RAISED PROBLEM OF JERUSALEM. ERALP SAID
TURKEY SUPPORTED THE UN POSITION ON INTERNATIONALIZATION OF
JERUSEALEM AND HAD ALWAYS OBJECTED TO ATTEMPTS TO MAKE IT INTO
ISRAELI CITY. FRG PERMREP (KRAPF) REMINDED COUNCIL OF SECRETARY
KISSINGER'S STATEMENT TO NAC THAT THIS ISSUE
SHOULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL A BETTER OVERALL CLIMATE HAD BEEN
CREATED.

12. COMMENT: AS EXPECTED, ALLIES LOOKED TO US FOR LEADERSHIP
THROUGHOUT DISCUSSION AND CONTRIBUTED LITTLE OF THEIR OWN INFORMA-
TION OR PLANNING. ALLIES CONTINUALLY RETURNED TO THEME THAT ALL
HOPES FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT REST IN CURRENT TRIP BY SECRETARY
TO MIDDLE EAST. DESIRE WAS UNANIMOUS THAT SOMEONE BRIEF COUNCIL
ON STATUS OF SITUATION UPON CONCLUSION OF SECRETARY'S TRIP.
END COMMENT.
MCAULIFFE.

SECRET

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